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SLAVERY *vs.* ABOLITION.

THE curtain which draped the invasion of John Brown and his associates on the soil of Virginia, together with the capture of the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry, resulting in the deliberate and cold-blooded murders of unoffending citizens, has been raised; so as to enable the conservative citizens of our beloved Union to fully scan the danger in which it stands, as well as to prepare for action when the proper time arrives for them, by their voice and votes, to save it from the impending ruin which traitors and fanatics wish to place it in. It is no idle fallacy to declare, that, had the Virginia insurgents met with the smallest shadow of success, or had they not reckoned without their host, not only would the soil they had desecrated by their unholy mission, but probably the larger portion of the South have been the scene of outrages, at the very thought of which the blood curdles, and the well-regulated mind recoils. And the question necessarily arises, whence and by what means could a handful of men, even if *monomaniacs* on the question of slavery, be so fool-hardy, or possess sufficient temerity to attempt the treason they have, unless, indeed, they were "aided and comforted" by others, who, to perfect a plan long-designed, but too cowardly to openly avow it, devised the scheme which was to destroy the fairest and richest portion of the land of Washington, and the inheritance of man. It can be no idle assertion to declare, that the abolition party of the North have for years past been pursuing the *ignis fatuus* which induced the mock philanthropists of England to lay in ruins their richest possessions, and have been impelled to the desire of effecting a similar purpose in the South by means even more ignoble. Agita-

tion and fanaticism, from the forum and the pulpit, have been so often and continually presented to the people of the North on the subject of abolition, that it has, to a very great extent, become a household word, and many probably believe that the shackles of the slave must be smitten off, even at the sacrifice of the perpetuity of the Union. While, however, humanity is a field which the heart delights to expatiate on and roam in, and the tribute it pays is willing and grateful, being with most persons a favorite theme; and when seconded and enforced by the powers of irresistible eloquence and truth, and not made subservient to fanaticism and hypocrisy, every passion, every feeling, and every affection of the heart becomes zealously enlisted in its cause.

But, when the finer feelings and sensibilities of our common natures are prostituted and profaned for the purpose of engendering evils to, and disruptions of the social or political ties which bind and hold a nation, communities, or society together, the heart will and must revolt at those who outrage decency, honor, truth, or propriety—out-Herod Herod, or adopt *humanity* as the cloak for their evil designs and fanatical doctrines. Those who have for a series of years been persecuting the South, and have adopted the following language as their creed:

“I look forward to the day when there shall be a servile insurrection in the South; when the black man, armed with British bayonets, and led by British officers, shall assert his freedom and wage a war of extermination against his master, when the torch of the incendiary shall light up the towns and cities of the South, and blot out the last vestige of slavery. And though I may not mock at their calamity, nor laugh when their fear cometh, yet I will hail it as the dawn of a political millennium.”—*Mr. Giddings, on the Ten Million bill, in the House of Representatives.*

—will now find that the fallacy of this idea, and the dangerous doctrines on which the “irrepressible conflict” rests have been fully exposed—will pause in their career, and reflect on the great and imminent danger which threatens not only the South by enforcing them, but also the *inevitable ruin* which will fall on them singly and collectively, should it be *determined* that these theories are to be attempted, or the South coerced to the designs of their high priests and rulers.

If these persons will only pause and reflect, they will easily discover that the humanity of the slaveholder and his self-interest are too intimately connected with his slave to permit him to do aught to his injury, and that the larger portion of the misrepresentations of their alleged cruelty is but a myth and a libel. Or, let them take another view of the question,

and inquire of themselves, how and by what means are the bonds of dominion, by which order is maintained in the South to be loosened? And whether, if their design were consummated, the horrors of massacre and desolation, and the involving of one party in indiscriminate destruction, and the plunging of the other into anarchy and disorder, savage violence, and bloodshed, would meet the solicitude they express for the abolition of slavery in the South?

The answer is plain, and apart from the instructive and serious lessons already taught by emancipation, the solemn fact arises to check their desire, when it is stated, beyond contradiction, that the position of our southern negroes renders it unsafe, impracticable, impolitic, inconsistent, unwise, and disadvantageous with the security, property, and even existence of one of the parties interested, who hold their negroes by a lawful tenure, and which assuredly, under all the compromises of the constitution, is, apart from the right of justice, of the most vital and paramount consideration, while nothing for the peace, welfare, or happiness of the negro would be conduced by his liberation. This, if no other considerations were involved, and which would necessarily, if abolition were effected, *carry pecuniary injury to the door of every man's home in the North*, should lead to reflection, and the shallow sophistries which the apostles of abolition preach be thrown aside by every well-thinking man.

Surely our northern brethren would not wish to see the oft-expressed desire fulfilled within the borders of our beloved Union, of "*let the South run with blood,*" or "*perish the southern States rather than sacrifice one iota of our principles.*"

The virus-upas of such rabid thoughts or desires can never be realized—can never be consummated. If those unacquainted with the scenes enacted in St. Domingo during the revolt there in the last century, and which destroyed the finest spot of earth in the Antilles, or are ignorant of the rebellion in Jamaica in 1831-'32, and the subsequent *emeutes* there, effected and brought into vitality by fanaticism and false philanthropy, will only spare the pains to investigate the result, they will pause in a career which, if not (under Divine goodness) to produce equal, will at least tear the bonds assunder which link this Union together.

But, apart from all other considerations, situated as the confederacy of our Union now exists, the question of abolition of slavery in our midst is one that should be handled with cautious care, and receive the most mature, calm, dispassionate,

and full consideration, as to whether any ultimate, real, or special benefit could possibly enure to those for whom the constant agitation is pretended to be made.

If the philanthropy of our northern brethren is founded upon the fanaticism of those *who rule in Exeter Hall*, it would lead to the belief, at least, that there is no substantial evidence of their sincerity, as the position and condition of the negroes under British rule prior to 1834 were distinctly at variance with that of those who are and have been owned by our southern brethren; and if this undue interference and mock-shadow is to be persevered in only for a futile end—for there is not the most remote probability that they will ever succeed in effecting the liberation of the negro, either by legislation or any sophistical means yet devised, but rather tighten his bonds, which all who hold them know full well are light—let all who devote their time and attention to the subject which “*infatuates while it inflames*,” ask themselves whether they would, in event of success, wish a disruption of this Union, or the “*South to run deep in the blood of their brethren?*”

A writer in the *Edinburgh Review*, a little over a quarter of a century back, and who evidently was hired by the *Exeter Hall clique* to dip his pen in the chalice of poison which was then preparing for the destruction of the British colonies, uses the following *significant* language to the then Jamaica slaveholder:

“If we suspend our protection; if we recall our troops, in a month the knife is at your throat. What are you to us that we should pamper you, or defend you; If the Atlantic ocean should pass over you, and your place knew you no more, what shall we lose?”

The language thus and then used affords strong evidence of the feeling then rampant, and implies naught but what is synonymous with that which is quoted above, and too often spoken in the North from the pulpit and forum in many of the inflammatory sermons and speeches against the South, when they say “they wish to see the negroes rise and massacre his master, with his household, and that the scenes incidental to the Jamaica rebellion of 1831-’32 *shall be re-enacted* on our soil.”

From the inception and initiatory of the “abolition party” North, the important fact has been lost sight of—and they have had no other “polar star” in view than agitation—that Congress can pass no law “*impairing the obligation of con-*

tracts," or "of the compromises of the Constitution," much less "to invade States' rights." If these arch-incendiaries deceive themselves, or lay the flattering unction to their souls, that because "outside pressure," "monster petitions," and "Exeter Hall agitation" (in which the rise of the East to the destruction of the West Indies was too palpably the governing wish,) forced emancipation upon the British colonies, and that their constant incitation, sectarian denunciations, and incendiary expressions will produce a like result within this Union, they, one and all, can blush for their own ignorance, as well as of the votaries who worship in the temple of fanatical agitation, and receive the condemnation of good men who see that their efforts are enshrouded in a feeling over which *Satan* must be the presiding genius.

They assuredly, as well as every other reasonable man, must fully and truly know that in the British possessions the care and institution of slavery was on a very different basis to that within our borders. The West Indies were *never* represented in Parliament; their appeals and remonstrances against the robbery designed upon them, and which were sent to the foot of the throne, were treated with contumely; their colonial agents were permitted, as an act of grace, to appear at the "bar of the commons" to protest on behalf of their constituents against the passage of any bill which militated against the interests of the West India proprietary.

But all their efforts were futile; all exertions to stem the ruin which foreshadowed itself in the future, by the passage of the "abolition act," were useless. The anti-slavery society of England had become strong in its recklessness and bigoted fanaticism, as well as bold in its determination; knowing, as they well did, that they were supported by the East Indian nabobs, and who then were far more potent than those of the West Indies, apart from the notorious fact that their tools and minions were at work by day and by night in the colonies sowing the insidious seeds of rancorous poison in the minds of the slaves, and preparing them for rape and murder. The merchants were also clamorous for moneys owing on mortgages, which proprietors had in their own confidence and credulity given them, only to ultimately be plucked of the last shilling.

The East had to be, and *must* be, built up, while the cry of "free labor" was made the "war cry," and the "monster petitions," signed by thousands who had no direct or indirect interest in the result, were taken as the "voice of the people."

In this Union no such causes exist; and although there be an "abolition society" in the North, its mad ravings will have, after the example made at Charlestown lately, to be confined to its own boundaries, while their minions and tools must remain at home with their "loud-mouthing," or belch them forth through a licentious press. With no empire to erect on the ruins of another, and with the fact patent to every man that "*free labor*" will not suffice to cultivate the great staples of the South, "monster petitions" or "fanatical agitations" will avail naught when they jeopardize States' rights or the integrity of the Union.

Endowed as our southern States are for the cultivation of the cane and cotton, nature, despite the ravings of the abolitionists, has pointed out the "*Ethiopian*" as the *only* suitable class of human beings who can till and cultivate the soil. There have been arguments and elaborate documents evolved in attempting to prove that the "*white man*" can labor in the South on an equal footing with the negro.

No one person who has ever resided in the tropics, or in any region approximating to the heat thereof, but must (unless he be insane or a monomaniac on abolition) in candor concede the fact that all that has been adduced in favor of "*white labor*" there is based on the most fallacious foundation.

There are, notwithstanding, many who, to this day, persist that "*free labor*" is adequate to all that can be required in those regions where sugar and other intertropical products are raised. But stern experience, purchased at a high cost and a fearful scene of ruin, fully and clearly demonstrates that neither the negro, East Indian, nor Mongolian will labor except under coercion.

As an illustration of this now conceded fact, the following remarks from a recent number of the "*London Times*," which years ago was foremost in its advocacy for emancipation, now gives forth in unmistakable language the condition of those who received that boon at the hands of the British philanthropists. He says :

"There is no blinking the truth. Years of bitter experience—years of hope deferred, of self-devotion unrequited, of poverty, of humiliation, of prayers unanswered, of sufferings derided, of insults unresented, of contumely patiently endured—have convinced us of the truth. It must be spoken out, loudly and energetically, despite the wild mockings of 'howling cant.' The freed West India slave will not till the soil for wages; the free son of the ex-slave is as obstinate as his sire. He will not cultivate lands which he has not bought for his own. Yams, mangoes, and plantains; these satisfy his wants; he does not care for yours. Cotton, sugar and coffee and tobacco—he cares little for them. And what matters it to him that the Englishman has sunk his thousands and tens of thousands on mills, machinery, and

plant, which now totter on the languishing estate that for years has only returned beggary and debt. He eats his yams, and sniggers at 'Buckra.'

"We know not why this should be; but it is so. The negro has been bought with a price—the price of English taxation and English toil. He has been 'redeemed from bondage' by the sweat and travail of some millions of hard-working Englishmen. Twenty millions of pounds sterling—one hundred millions of dollars—have been distilled from the brains and muscles of the free English laborer, of every degree, to fashion the West Indian negro into a 'free and independent laborer.' 'Free and independent' enough he has become, God knows; but laborer he is not; and, so far as we can see, never will be. He will sing hymns and quote texts, but honest, steady industry, he not only detests but despises. We wish to Heaven that some people in England—neither government, people, nor parsons, nor clergymen—but some just-minded, honest-hearted and clear-sighted men, would go out to some of the islands—say Jamaica, Dominica or Antigua—not for a month or three months, but for a year—would watch the precious *protégé* of English philanthropy, the freed negro, in his daily habits; would watch him as he lazily plants his little squatting; would see him as he proudly rejects agricultural or domestic service or accepts it only at wages ludicrously disproportionate to the value of his work. We wish, too, they would watch him while, with a hide thicker than that of a hippopotamus and a body to which fervid heat is a comfort rather than an annoyance, he droningly lounges over the prescribed task on which the intrepid Englishman, uninured to the burning sun, consumes his impatient energy and too often sacrifices his life. We wish they would go out and view the negro in all the blazonry of his idleness, his pride, his ingratitude, contemptuously sneering at the industry of that race which made him free, and then come home and teach the memorable lesson of their experience to the fanatics who have perverted him into what he is."

To further illustrate: the result of the *free settlement* formed in 1821 of *free blacks* in the Island of Trinidad, the balance of the island being in bonds of slavery, is given.

The experiment was made to satisfy the *Anti-Slavery* party of Exeter Hall, by the British government, and ended as all such experiments will.

It was proven before Parliament (as its proceedings show) that the free negroes, after having all the comforts supplied them which their most distant wants could desire, "*would not work even for their own support. That they were addicted to drunkenness, to thieving, to promiscuous and illicit intercourse with the sexes, and relapsed into a worse, more degraded, and immoral position and condition than those who were held on the same soil in bondage.*" "*They could not be forced to work the lands which had been donated them for their support and benefit; but, when required so to do, were found to be asleep in their houses in the hours that should have been devoted to labor, and often had to be summarily dealt with to enforce that which would furnish them with the necessaries of life.*"

The state of things in Gaudaloupe after the revolution in St. Domingo, which severed the first and most productive island in the Antilles from France, does not present a brighter picture. Shortly after the *forced emancipation* of the slaves there, (Gaudaloupe,) all the white inhabitants were ruined—all the proprietors reduced to a state of beggary; and the

negroes, having turned pirates, (preferring a marauding life to that of labor,) to attack the neutrals and British, were captured by them and sold into slavery.

The then French governor attempted to enforce the regulations adopted by TOUISSANT in St. Domingo, but he (the governor) being a white man, they (the negroes) resisted the imposition thereof. Torrents of blood were shed ; and finally slavery was again established on that island, as *a less evil than liberty indiscriminately given*.

Again: in 1799, the slaves of Cayenne (then belonging to France) were declared free ; but after two years' trial of 5,000, (eleven thousand being the number liberated) who preferred to remain on the plantations and receive wages regularly for the labor performed, had become into such a state of distress, and the aged into so pitiable a condition, that the old order of things had to be restored by the then French Consular government, and the negroes remanded back to slavery. The loss by disease in the meantime amounted to 2,300, nearly 20 per cent. of the then African population.

We can, at this present moment, draw our conclusions from the effect of "*free black labor*" in St. Domingo, and, without entering into discussion or controversy as to whether slavery be wrong or right, ask the disciples of SMITH, GARRISON, or PHILLIPS, whether God's kind gifts are not perverted while so invaluable a portion of His domain is fast relapsing into barbarism and decay?

If they be not satisfied with this sad picture, let them turn their eyes to the condition of Jamaica, and witness the scene which the effects of mock philanthropy and avarice has produced, in the desire on one hand for "*a desire for equality*," and the ruin of one empire for the glory of another, on the other, which can be daily witnessed in every section of that once fair isle—once a gem of "*brightest ray serene*" in the British crown, but now fast sinking into that state of wild growth for which nature is so well known in the tropics.

The ponderous and crushing foot of the demon "*outward pressure*" has done the bidding of the "*East Indian nabobs*," who in the plentitude of their wealth and power, had cajoled and forced the British Parliament by specious representations and monster petitions manufactured with their rupees, to destroy her. Their inordinate desire for wealth had to be satisfied at any cost, solely that their special and immediate interests in the East Indies might be aggrandized. They gloat to this day on the ruin they have perpetrated. And what is the result?

Let any one who knows Jamaica now, compare it with the palmy days of her bright prosperity—when her every hillside and fruitful valley teemed with the rich arrowing cane, whose juice yields the greatest luxury as well as common necessary of life—her romantic mountains towering to the clouds, covered as with a beautiful carpet, by the fragrant, thick-clustering snow-white flower of the coffee-tree; her groves, redolent with aroma of the allspice and orange; her forests yielding their bounteous supply of dye and medicinal woods; every inch of cultivated land unsurpassed in redundancy even by the home of our first parents; the eye gladdened in every direction by thousands of indigenous flowers of countless hues; her numerous harbors bearing on their undulating bosoms the cumbersome old-fashioned built sugar ship, constantly departing with their saccharine treasures, to add to the princely wealth of the luxurious though absent proprietor, as well as to fill the coffers of the parent government; the lighter and more beautifully proportioned barque, awaiting its annual cargo of delectable Mocha berry, whose invigorating beverage delights the heart of the Musselman, and all who partake thereof; with the hundreds of the gallant, staunch schooners constantly arriving from every port of our Union, from Maine to New Orleans, bearing luxuries for the more wealthy denizen, supplies for the happy descendant of Ham, together with staves, timber, and other requisites for the various plantation and building purposes.

Those were her halcyon days, when every man rested by his own vine and fig tree—the period when hospitality knew no bounds, no restrictions, and was as free to all who demanded it as the diurnal sea-breeze whose refreshing effect inspires all with the belief that ‘Yellow Jack’ could take no hold of the inhabitants of Port Royal or Kingston, so long as its certain periodical influences were wafted over the brightest gem of the Antilles.

When in the days alluded to, but now, alas! no more, the merchant prince, nabob resident planter, rich agent, lordly manager, toiling overseer, proud lawyer, well-fed clerk, independent land and slave proprietor of the smallest degree, aspiring tyro, languishing lady, handsome, dark-eyed, venus-formed mezzee, quadroon, and all the intermediate amalgamated breeds, down to the silken-skinned, coal-black negro, all enjoyed themselves in a land where the faithful followers of Mahomet would, had they been resident therein, have believed it the fabled Paradise their Prophet had promised as the hereafter reward for discreet and correct behavior while performing their pilgrimage on this sublunary sphere.

All the inhabitants of this once fair isle, from the wealthiest to the most lowly, from the well-appointed and luxuriantly furnished mansion of the governor, through all the ramifications of society, down to the lowly cottage of the menial though contented negro, were ever ready and willing to throw open the portal to extend hospitality, freely and without stint. Any one could travel from one end of the island to the other, or in the most unfrequented spots by day or by night, with the assurance that he was safe; that no foot-pad was abroad to tell you to ‘stand and deliver.’ Such is but a faint picture of what she was, and to a great extent remained, until the negroes were goaded on to rebellion in the fall of 1831.

But now, ruined by the suicidal policy which the *habitués* and fanatics of Exeter hall, combined with the already stated causes, has entailed on those children of the South, the land once a paradise is destined soon to be lorded over by the mixed blooded progeny of Ethiopia’s sable daughters. The curse of Edom is fast coming on the land, and with the progress of amalgamation the soil, for want of *labor*, will refuse to give forth its once rich products.

The wild fanatics of the day lose sight of the fact, that it was by the toil and risks, in pestilential climes, of those who first settled the colonies of the Antilles, (Demarara, Ceylon, and other eligible localities,) that the cultivation of the great staple-luxury and necessary of life, sugar, was produced; and

that by their self-sacrifices they had assisted to raise the British merchant to the rank of princes, and erect a commerce to one of the largest in the world,

Can our merchants and northern manufacturers not learn a lesson in time, and read the "writing on the wall," ere it be too late? or will they use the same sophistries and arguments as have been exercised in vindication of the "Emancipation" movement in England?

The argument made use of by those who were most strenuous to abolish slavery in the West and East Indies and other British possessions, hurried them to believe, or at least to declare, that the slaves by being made free would not only raise more produce, but also consume much more of British manufactures. They also anticipated that Great Britain would find within her own dominions ample and abundant scope for the extension of her commerce, and thus share with the United States a portion of the vast wealth which the great field of commerce would open beyond that which the want of slave labor afforded. The fallacy of the theory is too palpable, yet nothing definite can be indulged in as to the *certain future* working of the 'theory of emancipation' beyond what has been produced by positive demonstration up to the present time. Those who were led away by false philanthropy, and never ceased in the agitations which were first set on foot after the abolition of the African slave trade, and persevered in by STURGES, BUXTON, GUANEY, HARVEY, and a host of disciples of the same school, and contended for by them, that it would be productive of much good, both to master and slave; (and which latter was afterward to become his servant;) yet the facts, as they now stand transparent to the world, prove that their predictions were based upon a foundation of sand.

There were others who, knowing the character of the negro from intimate acquaintance and long experience, foresaw and foretold that the falling off of the industry of the blacks would be apparent so soon as his fetters were stricken off; and there is naught that can be brought to bear in opposition thereto, but will, of its own argument, prove that the views then expressed (twenty years ago) were correct, and based upon a full and thorough knowledge of the character of the children whom the agitators had adopted as the idol of their worship.

CANNING, in one of the debates in Parliament, and foreseeing the result which the abrogation of slavery would involve, thus describes the agitation of the measure: 'To turn him (the negro) loose in the manhood of his physical strength—in the maturity of his physical passions, but in the infancy of his uninstructed reason—would be to raise up a creature resembling the splendid fiction of a recent romance (Frankenstein;) the hero of which constructs a human form, with all the corporeal capabilities of a man, and with the thews and sinews of a giant; but being unable to impart to the work of his hands a perception of right or wrong, he finds, too late, that he has only created a more than mortal power of doing mischief, and himself recoils from the monster which he has made.' Do the disciples of BUXTON and his followers not perceive the application of the foregoing quotation? If he be obtuse, then a few short days' travel may convey him to the midst of those who exemplify the truth thereof. Let him visit Jamaica or any of the British West Indies, and, for his own information, seek among the negroes themselves for the reply so often asked, and so often evaded, viz: *Has emancipation bettered the condition of the negro?* He will find that it has not, and that those who expected that the negro would labor patiently for the gratification of wants and sentiments to which he was an utter stranger until thrown upon his own resources, would be equal to the passage of an act of Congress 'to reverse the order of human nature.'

The inference, possibly, which the anti-abolitionists drew of emancipation, which was to succeed slavery in the British dominions, and the negro thereby left to follow his own inclination, was that of a desire of escaping from what he *could not, from his want of cultivation and intellect, fail to consider an ignominious occupation*. Labor to the negro is not that high and elevating blessing which the white

man glories in, and who does not feel degraded or disgraced because he has 'to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow.'

Necessity may in some cases prevent the negro from becoming or relapsing into a state of complete indolence; but the effect would, in this as in other instances, be proportioned to its cause, and stern necessity in the West Indies, where nature is so prolific and the soil so bounteous, is widely different from necessity in the United States. The negro here is well known to bear an intimate and close analogy to the negro of the West Indies. He that is beyond the bonds of servitude, with rare exceptions, gives no evidence that freedom is appreciated, or that he is competent to benefit by its advantages; and so distinctly is this understood, that not even those who stand in the foremost ranks of the abolition party, while they continuously preach *equality*, both socially and politically, do ever, when opportunity presents itself, concede or secure it to those for whom they create the crusade, or rather Quixotic agitation. As a proof of this, let us turn our attention to the situation of the *free negroes* in our eastern States; to the action of conventions lately held; to the opposition which Canadians give to the black colonists among them—and in every instance, evidences stare us in the face that '*those who cry freedom and abolition*,' are among the foremost ranks to show to the world how they despise the 'woolly heads,' and how averse they are to carry out the doctrines which daily are aimed with poisoned darts against the slaveholder of the South. But we have digressed, and return to the true thread of our theory, and say, that although England boasts of her act as a proud reflection, that she was the last to engage in the slave trade and the first to abandon it, and that she induced other nations to follow her example and to suppress by every means in her power what she was pleased to style 'the unhallowed traffic;' still we do not believe that the vaunting thus made through her mouthpiece at Exeter Hall is worth more credit than the fox who lost his tail and advised all other foxes to do the same. We ask, are negroes to be exempted from the common lot of humanity—labor? 'No,' replies the abolitionist, 'but they ought to labor for their own support, and not to enrich the master.'

These ranters forget the connexion existing between the master and his slave. If slavery implies that the slave must work for his master, it equally implies that the master must protect and provide for his slave. He gives him a home, feeds and clothes him, attends him in sickness, and supports him in his old age, besides granting him innumerable other privileges which the white laborer can neither expect nor receive. There is not the same bond, the same tie, between the white master and his white laborer as there is between the master and his slave; yet the abolitionist will rail and rant, as well as denounce the southern man, while at home, at his own door, and within his daily vision, hundreds who can claim his real sympathy are to be seen, but are neglected; while the specious cry of abolition is made the theme of the pulpit and the press, morning, noon and night.

While the white laborer is left to eke out a miserable existence, the slave is provided for, in return for which he labors for him in cultivating that part of his lands which furnishes produce on which the slave is supported in all his wants. Emancipation would at once dissolve the compact, and throw the whole community into confusion and disorder.

No one who is acquainted with the character of the negro, but must concede that he is crafty, artful, and plausible; not very often grateful for small or even large favors extended to him, but deceitful and overreaching; little less pacific than the Indian, yet more cowardly and timid; and, when roused to fierceness and revenge, is cruel and implacable, while all the feelings of selfishness and avariciousness, obstinacy, and perverseness form too prominent a feature in his character; caring little for the truth, or of working with that cheerfulness which white persons do who have to labor for their sustenance. Yet the ranter of the North would wish to place the southern negro on a platform of equality with the white man's. Vain, hopeless delusion!—the idle dream of a day, which centuries can never realize!

The caviller may accuse us of taking up the dark side of the picture; but, to verify the truth of facts patent, as well as from observations drawn from life, we give the following copy of a despatch written in 1849, by the then secretary of the British

colonies to Governor Barkly, in Demarara, which is worthy of attention. He says:

"I have read your despatch and its enclosures, with feelings of great pain and of much anxiety for the future, since the picture you have presented to me of the present state of society in Guiana, and of the actual condition and prospects of all classes of its inhabitants, is gloomy in the extreme; and yet it bears too obviously the character of truth for me to doubt its accuracy. It is, indeed, melancholy to learn, that while the difficulties of the planters have continued, since the abolition of slavery, to become more and more severe until now, their ruin appears to be almost complete; and the depreciation of property, once of such great value, has reached a point which has involved in the deepest distress great numbers of persons, both in this country (England*) and in the colony, at the time the negroes, instead of having made a great advance in civilization, as might have been hoped during the fifteen years which have elapsed since their emancipation, have, on the contrary, rather retrograded than improved, and that they are now as a body less amenable than they were when that great change took place, to the restraint of religion and of law, less docile and tractable, and almost as ignorant and as much subject as ever to the degrading superstitions which their fathers brought with them from Africa.

"*These are the results of all the efforts and sacrifices by which the abolition of slavery was purchased, which it is indeed painful and discouraging to contemplate; and though they cannot, in my opinion, create any doubt as to whether the measure was right in principle, (resting, as it did, on the sure grounds of justice and humanity,) they do tend to prove that serious errors must have been committed in the manner of effecting so great a change in the state of society, and in the means which were taken to guard against the dangers by which it could not fail to be accompanied.* Nor is it, according to my judgment, difficult to detect what were the errors of which the consequences have been thus unfortunate, and to what deficiencies in the precautionary measures which were adopted, the failure which has hitherto attended the grand experiment of endeavoring to carry on the production of sugar by free instead of by slave labor, is to be attributed.

"What has occurred, indeed? Only the realization of what, for my own part, I anticipated from the manner in which, in 1834 and 1838, first the partial and afterwards the complete emancipation of the negroes was carried into effect."

Speaking of Guiana, the same secretary writes as follows to the then governor:

"It is further remarkable, that upon a close examination there appears little reason to doubt (strange as at first sight it may appear) that the very superiority of its natural advantages is, a part at least, the cause of the greater difficulties of the latter.† The greater fertility of the soil of Guiana, and the large extent of available land, by rendering labor more productive and the laborer more independent, have enabled him to command higher wages in this than the other colonies I have named; (Jamaica and Grenada,) while, on the other hand, the very high rate of wages which has been thus reached, has made the change in the condition of the negro by the abolition of slavery still more violent than elsewhere. But the greatness and the suddenness of the change are quite sufficient to account for the difficulty which has been experienced in obtaining from the negroes such an amount of steady and continuous labor as would have been necessary to render the cultivation of sugar profitable. They (the negroes) would have acted in a manner quite contrary to what uniform experience shows to be the ordinary conduct in such circumstances, of men, of whatever race and in whatever climate, if (compulsion being withdrawn) they had continued to devote themselves to regular industry, when they found that by a comparatively small amount of labor they could obtain not merely the necessities of life, to which alone they had been used, but a considerable share of its comforts and even of its luxuries."

* The writer (Earl Gray) wrote from Downing street, London. (See Parliament Docs.)—Ed.

† The writer (Earl Gray) means to convey the idea that the advantages of the soil are the cause of the laziness on the part of the negro.—Ed.

From the high source these remarks emanate, and from one who at a prior date was among the ranks of *those who were forced to go with the stream of what was then styled "popular outcry,"* the admission of the errors and improprieties of abolition is a strong weapon in the hands of the South against those who in the North are bent either to destroy the Union or not abate one iota of their principles.

The noble lord would not have dared in 1833 to utter the wholesale truths which he in 1849 penned to the governor (Barkly) of Demarara.

If these facts be not enough to convince the intermeddlers of the North, or those who composed the Smith and Burritt Emancipation convention, which pronounces the extinction of American slavery, further evidences of what the negro now is in Jamaica are given. Stipendiary Jackson, writing his annual report, as appears in the Blue Book of Parliament, of 1854, thus writes: 'Referring to the general condition of the laboring population, and to their religious and moral improvement, I regret very much to say that during the last few years the movements in this respect have generally been in a retrograde character. Before the negro had emerged from bondage, as soon as he could believe that the time was at length approaching when the bands should be 'loosed' and the 'oppressed' permitted to go free and the missionary, acting not only as his spiritual pastor, but, amidst much persecution, faithfully adhering to him as a temporal counsellor and friend, annexed to his assurance, both as a condition and a means of obtaining freedom, the practice of morality and virtue. The price, however, appeared small, compared with the immense reward promised, and (without detracting, in the slightest degree, from the very important and valuable services rendered to the laboring people of this country (Jamaica) and to the country in general, by the devoted missionaries) I may assert that far more morality and virtue were feigned or fancied to exist, than were warmly and sincerely felt; and the 'outward and visible sign' was, both by the teacher and the pupil, too frequently mistaken for the inward and spiritual grace. * * * Having obtained his freedom, the negro became less dependent upon the secular aid of the missionary, while the missionary became more dependent upon the pecuniary aid of the negro, and in too many instances, exacted more, perhaps, than his services merited; hence, disputes arose between pastor and flock.' Another stipendiary, T. A. Dillon, says: 'The marriage vows appear to me to be indifferently kept, and but little respected. The sacred obligation of an oath is but imperfectly understood; and, as a consequence, continually violated. Larcenies are still very numerous, and detections bear no proportion to commissions; and the former but very imperfectly illustrates the prevalence of the crime. The influence of the minister has rapidly declined, and he receives but a scanty and capricious support; and although chapels have been built, congregations collected, yet it is no less true that superstition is still rampant.

* * * The philanthropist and the government of the day thought it sufficient to break their shackles, and leave them free—free to err; free to outrage the laws of God and society; free to follow their instincts without a single reminiscence, moral or religious, to deter or encourage; with no restraint upon their actions, save what an ill-digested penal code supplied." Another stipendiary, R. Emory, in Jamaica, says: "I consider the general condition of the laboring population as exhibiting a very lamentable picture; their irreligious and immoral character being the basis of all their unworthiness. Their march back to barbarism has been rapid and successful. To talk of education—sixteen years of freedom, have, I think, proved to the world that the negro spurns it for his children."

Such is the language of men who, at one time, with the dread of the anger of the 'saints' hanging over their heads, would not have dared to have written aught that could offend the idolatry they were worshipping; but, now that ruin, irretrievable, has been showered on the head of the once slave owner in the British colonies, do they speak the truth. Their office is now dependent on the faction, who once '*ruled only to destroy*' one portion of England's dominion, in order to erect to extravagant wealth in another..

From the evidences here adduced, let us ask all sober-

reasoning men, if it would be politic, under the evidences extant of the incapacity of the negro to receive the better influences of civilization, to abandon those in the United States to a similar fate as is proved, under the most undoubted authority, to exist in the British colonies? Shall the South give up their sugar, rice, cotton, and tobacco plantations to the African race, or place them on terms of political or social equality with the whites, or allow a degraded, ignorant, superstitious and brutal race to be placed in a position to commit excesses, as they did in Hayti; or lapse into a state of little less than barbarism, as they now are in Jamaica, San Domingo, and other West India Islands.

To turn from the questions as presented, one of more paramount importance cannot escape notice.

The policy of Great Britain, after carrying on the crusade against slavery in her dominions, despite the protests of her slaveholding subjects, has been, as is daily evidenced, to destroy every advantage which other governments received from still retaining the institution. This fact is patent from the coercion used under the *entente cordiale* which Sir Robert Peel feigned to keep up with 'the King of the French' in his visit to 'Chateau D'Eau.' The abrogation of slavery in the French colonies was not because the French nation believed in the *faith* which the Exeter Hall clique had made a national affair, and forced emancipation even to the sacrifice of honesty; but, forsooth, because my cousin Louis Phillippe had to succumb to perfidious Albion, so that he might hold a more secure tenure of the throne of France for himself and successors. The Spanish alliance, however, made against the pledge given to England's queen, that 'his sons were not to marry, the Spanish queen and her sister,' precipitated his downfall, but not until after Martinique, Guadeloupe, and the other French colonies had ceased to be slaveholding countries. The Danish colonies, under the same pressure, apart from being at best weak, had to succumb to the same fanatical pressure. Intimidation did its work effectually in that quarter, and Santa Cruz, once a garden-spot from one extreme of the island to the other, will before long, like most of the British colonies, cease to be a sugar-producing country.

The effort, however, did not stop here, and Holland must at this time—because she cannot resist the 'British lion'—fall a sacrifice to the idol which the anti-slavery party at Exeter Hall worship. Why Cuba, Porto Rico, and Manilla are not made to feel the same pressure, shall be shown in another portion of this article. Brazil is still a slaveholding country, and will despite the ravings of the *Friends*, remain so. Commerce being king, the English cannot well afford to lose the revenue derived from the exports daily sent from Rio Janeiro, Bahia, or other lesser ports of that empire, or risk for the Manchester cotton princes the curtailment of the advantages derived from the extensive trade which annually is had with that vast region.

That the ultimate policy of England to bring about, by insidious attacks through the Exeter Hall party conniving with the brother fanatics on our own soil, the abolition in the South, cannot be doubted by any sane person, or by those who have watched the progress of her diplomacy. The negotiations with Texas furnish ample evidence what the views of the Earl of Aberdeen were during the time proffers were made of British friendship to the 'Lone Star republic.' Had England succeeded in her attempts to abrogate slavery in Texas, what would a large portion of it be worth at this moment, or of what interest would it have been to our southern interests to have urged her adding her 'star' to our growing and glorious constellation? The abolishing of slavery in Texas was simply to facilitate its abolition in the United States, and the declarations made at the period, both by the abolition party in England and in this country, furnish conclusive evidence of the understanding existing between those of our own citizens and of their fanatical zealots in England. He indeed must be obtuse that cannot readily (on looking back to the history of a few years past) discover the plot that was afoot, headed and originated by prominent members of the American abolition party, as first set forth by them in London, in 1840, to first emancipate the Texan slave, and then throughout

every slaveholding State in our Union. These men, who were tied to the sacred duty of supporting the 'constitution' by every tie which renders the name of the United States respected both at home and abroad, would sell their 'birthright for a mess of pottage,' and act with worse treason than Arnold, if opportunity were to present itself.

No one, however led away he may be by the plea of humanity or philanthropy, can aver, without fear of contradiction, that the policy of Great Britain in freeing her negroes was from a sincerity of action, and that her desire to enforce it on others is from motives of purity.

Her desire is to bring every slaveholding power down to the debased condition which the British colonies have been, by that little less than act of violence—when might overcame right—been reduced to. The fallacious plea set up 'that the labor of the negroes would be at least as profitable, if not more so, in consequence of the measure,' has been so thoroughly disproved, that little or no argument is required to carry conviction to the mind of the reader or observer.

It is too clearly reduced to fact beyond contradiction, that free labor will not suffice in any tropical or inter-tropical region to produce those staples for which nature has pointed out locality, as well as the character of the labor that is to raise them.

Whoever calculates to make philanthropy the medium through which fanaticism is to have its rampant sway, must, if they will be governed by the experience of the past, easily perceive the fallacy of their intentions and inutility of their effort.

The costly scheme of British emancipation has indeed proven a failure, not only as regards the calculation made of 'bettering the condition of the negro,' but also demonstrated that 'the labor of the African has been far less productive,' and that, accepting the statement of the Stipendiary Magistrates, who were under the surveillance of the 'Saints and Friends,' to be even but lightly drawn, it, as it is acknowledged, instead of realizing the hope, resulted in naught but bitter disappointment and ruin to the once sugar cultivator, and tending fast to carry the laborer back to barbarism, vice and superstition. At this present time the very men who extinguished slavery and ruined thereby the British colonies, and forced it on France and Denmark, are still advocating and enforcing upon the English ministers schemes for its abrogation among those powers where it yet exists. Their attempts on the 'Spanish Court' are still undiminished, but the 'Lords' in Downing street are constrained to pause ere they enforce it in the Spanish colonies.

Cuba is in debt to Great Britain for the subsidies of the Peninsular war, and although Lord George Bentick, in the House of Commons, at one time was very pressing and solicitous of making Spain pay up, either in money, (a thing impracticably impossible,) or of taking Cuba, so as to prevent its falling into our possession, yet did the Premier soften down the agitation of the question, and 'scotched the snake,' although he did not kill it.

And here, in its place, do we take occasion to tell why 'Cuba, Porto Rico and Manilla, are not made to feel the same pressure' as other islands, (French and Danish, already freed,) and the Dutch, which are soon to follow in the wake of destruction, in order to gratify the insatiate and intolerant faction who have no other end in view but to make the eastern continent, if possible, the 'Golconda' wherefrom England is to draw those mines of wealth, which, now too late, it is found cannot be obtained from the Western Archipelago and British South America. Emancipation in those islands—Cuba particularly—would produce that ruin which hangs like a upas tree upon her once fine and wealthy neighbors; and the rich products which now so materially assist to keep the mother country from sinking to a lower scale than she at present occupies would cease to be the medium of filling her coffers or of sustaining her fast declining empire. Apart from this, which possibly would be but a secondary consideration with Great Britain, except for the balance of power in Europe, her bondholders would receive no more of the yearly interest on the immense debt due to them; and if no other weightier reason prevailed, (that of the fear of Cuba becoming Americanized,) this one is sufficient to induce John Bull from not interfering with slavery under the Spanish crown.

But the question of humanity which England boasts she was foremost to bring about, proven, as it has, to have been a measure fraught with danger and ruin, demonstrates that while the 'hue and cry' was rampant the people were using (with their eyes and senses blinded to the truth,) sugar raised and manufactured by 'the toil and blood' of the 'black brothers' of the saints, held at the time in bondage in other countries, and are, now that desolation and ruin are entailed on

their 'free' colonies, using but very little else. By a species of sophistry which even at this day, it is very difficult to comprehend, slave grown sugar, during all the 'agitation,' was admitted to be 'refined in bond,' and then exported to the free colonies of England for their consumption, while at this day the larger proportion of that staple manufactured by slave labor is daily consumed by thousands of those very signers to the 'monster petitions' which beggared their own citizens.

And does not the same feature prevail in the northern States? The saints can best answer.

What becomes of all the sugar manufactured in Cuba, Porto Rico, Manilla, and Brazil? Search the statistics of the English customs and the query solves itself.

The inadequacy of the British colonies since emancipation to furnish a sufficient supply can be evidenced in the following statistics for one year only, viz. 1842: These possessions (the West Indian, American, East Indian, and Mauritius,) produced in that year only 3,993,771 pounds, while Cuba and Brazil sent from their ports 9,600,000 pounds. This is exclusive of other regions in the tropics where the great staple is raised. Those countries which have continued, and are determined to continue, their policy in regard to slavery, indicate of late years an increase in their productions and capital, and every indication presents itself, that while ruin is entailed on those where 'the bands have been severed and the oppressed made to go free,' a corresponding increase of manufactures and its concomitants, wealth, power, and commerce, is being realized. All who are acquainted with the source of a nation's wealth and power must concede that 'commerce is king,' and that the most pleasing duty of a government is to increase its resources without adding to the taxation of its people.

Agriculture, by receiving a due and proper encouragement, will always find an ample and immediate reward. But the same mischievous and oppressive policy which severed the American colonies from the bosom of their parent, and make them at this day an equal if not a superior to her, was adopted towards the sugar growing colonies of England, with no prospect of defending themselves from the 'oppressor's wrong or proud man's contumely.' The Indian who fells the tree that he may gather the fruit, is actuated by the impulse of a nature little less savage than that of a 'faction' which sacrifices to a prospective gain the lasting and secure possession of the most important ties which bind their friends and brethren to a government. England, as we have already stated, sees, although she will not acknowledge, the great and grievous wrong perpetrated on her weak colonists, and has from time to time, far and wide apart, made futile attempts to recuperate the fallen fortunes of her colonists. African apprentices (captured from slavers,) Coolies, Maltese, Chinese, and even German labor, has, under restrictive acts of Parliament, been introduced among them. All have proved a failure, and nature is fast resuming her sway over the choicest and most prolific spots on earth, and they are fast becoming wildernesses where they once blossomed as the rose. England sees and feels this, and in order to, if possible, regain her superiority she is exerting every energy to produce those staples within her own dominions in the east, where labor is of no value, while at the same time she covertly is endeavoring to effect the destruction of others, who, seeing her error, are raising themselves to power and wealth. France, although capable of growing almost sufficient beet-root sugar for home use, has, as we recently see, thrown off the disguise and entered upon the 'apprentice system,' determining not to be longer dependent on foreign sugar. Cuba, while her neighbors were daily retrograding, has increased her plantations, and drew from the United States \$40,000,000 within one year for the one staple, sugar. The growth of that commodity in our southern States has considerably increased, and although they do not possess the innumerable advantages of the tropics for its production, still, so great has been the advance made both in the mechanical and chemical arts that they have been enabled, despite the drawbacks to which they have been subjected, to afford evidences that the 'necessary of life' can be grown in their midst.

England fears our progressive march, and she will not hesitate to mar and destroy our prospects on the road to greatness, if she possibly can, through her 'hiring fanatics,' force the negro to be his own master. She wants to rule sway over the world; to increase her commerce by the extension of her culture of cotton and sugar in the east; make all nations dependant upon her, and laugh at all who allow their credulity to produce ruin from her 'vaunt of humanity.'

If, upon the face of these positive facts, the North will not take heed of their ways, and the conservatives of the Union permit GARRISON and his compeers and coadjutors who surround him and pander to those who are weak enough to believe that emancipation can be forced upon us, even should a republican President be elected and a Congress to do his bidding, under the specious and plausible guise of "*compensation*," or BURRITT and his associates, "in their generous and brotherly spirits," set on foot "some practicable plan" and "equitable design" for the extinction of slavery in our Union, nothing is left but to openly declare that the consummation is as far distant as that of the Atlantic ocean overwhelming this vast continent.

When this occurs, and not till then, will slavery be extinguished, or else the Union dissolved; for the master of the slave knows his rights and dares maintain them.

Wiser counsels will, it is to be hoped, under Divine influence, prevail, and the acerbities which have been aroused by impolitic interference sweetened down; when, with one accord, the PEOPLE shall declare, in the words of the immortal Jackson—"THE UNION MUST AND SHALL BE PRESERVED."